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Cabécar

177 many distinct degrees of acculturation. These will be touched upon in the course of this paper.

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192 Villages. Villages in the European sense of the word are unknown and have always been non-existent as far as these peoples are concerned. Their very language denotes this fact. Neither in Bribri nor in Cabécar is there a word for town or city. The idea is understood because of contact with the outside. In Bribri, city is expressed by *kon* (place or extension) *bluburu* (much or great). Town is termed *kon* or *ká* (*ká* is "place" in the Cabécar tongue and also by adoption, but slightly modified by accent, in Bribri) and *kabi* which means Cabécar. This significantly brings to mind the conquest of the Cabécares by the less-cultured Bribri. In Cabécar, city is also understood and is expressed by the word *bužiga* or, literally, *bu* (house) *žiga* (many), and town by *ká* meaning "place" and also signifying Talamanca in the sense of "our home."

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When discussing this, the statement of Joan
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Farming. Agriculture differs according to the location. The people on the Pacific side have the advantage of both climate and education. Here planting is controlled by a marked wet and dry season, while physically there are wider valleys and gentler slopes. In Talamanca and Chirripó, planting is done at any time of the year although May is the favorite month. Cultivation is usually found on the steepest hillsides not only because flat land is scarce but also because this offers the best protection against the inevitable pigs which are kept by the Indians for economic reasons.

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The method of farming also varies slightly. The slash-burn technique is prevalent on the Pacific side, but on the other slope, excessive rains control the situation. Although occasional burning is carried out, the usual practice is to remove the small bush and to allow the rest of the downed forest to decay, chopping it with a machete to quicken the process. Instead of waiting until the wood has disappeared, planting is done in between the decomposing material.

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Dávila must be remembered (see Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (see Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

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The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the waist (fig. 2, c) and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.⁶⁰ The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by lines and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

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⁶⁰ Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.